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ABSTRACT

Discussing migration and migration patterns in the third world, this paper asserts that the failure of plans for controlling rural to urban migration is due to: lack of knowledge about the phenomenon; the favor given to one-dimensional interpretations stressing certain aspects of urban economies; and the implicit assumptions underlying most solutions offered which are rarely consistant with the socioeconomic contexts of the countries involved. Discussion centers on: the nature of migration and how to assess it (suggesting that two-ended assessment is necessary for a valid picture of migrants, the migrant is characterized as normally young, rational, economic, educated, job-seeking, encouraged to migrate by urban friends/family, and poor); what happens to migrants in urban areas (citing statistics on Botswana and Tanzania wage earners vs non-wage earners, including the self-employed, argument is presented relative to the dangers of generalizing migration statistics; e.g., in Tanzania, 67% of all urban adults are migrants, more than 77% of the wage-earners could be so classified, while only 62% of the non-wage earners are migrants); the solutions and the role of education (suggestions for eliminating urban unemployment generally include encouraging a decline in the rural-urban migration and/or via educational ruralization, vocational education, etc., restricting migration, while this study suggests that unless a radical change reduces rural-urban disparities, ruralizing education will either fail to stop the urban influx or succeed partially in legitimizing inequality of opportunity). (JC)

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MIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS: EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

Jacques Hallak

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1. Introduction

The obvious and unforgivable nature of the crisis which has befallen the urban centres of developing countries has been the focus of much attention. The seriousness and urgency of the problem, the extremely fast speed of its development, and the political threat which it generates have all contributed to the proliferation of hasty and superficial analyses, generally based on inaccurate and emotionally-charged "impressions". Nonetheless many plans for slowing down or controlling the drift from land have been worked out on the grounds that the large volume of migration is certainly the major cause of "over-unemployment in urban areas"(1), and that the social cost of rural under-employment would be much lower than the social and political cost of urban unemployment. Yet most of these plans have proved ineffective. Among the various reasons for the failure are, no doubt, (1)the lack of knowledge of the nature of the phenomenon they are supposed to deal with, (2) the favour given to one-dimensional interpretations which stressed certain aspects of the urban economies which developed but which did not place these in a context where they would be properly appreciated or understood, and (3) the implicit assumptions underlying most of the solutions offered which are rarely consistent with the socio-economic contexts of the countries involved.

In this paper, these arguments will be presented and discussed. The focus will be on three separate yet related questions :

(1) The nature of migration and how to assess it.

(2) What happens to migrants in urban areas.

(3) The solutions suggested and the role of education.

Finally some brief comments on research and policy implications will serve as concluding remarks to the paper.

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(1) Paul Bairoch,"Le chômage urbain", Bureau International du Travail, Genève 1972.

2. The nature of migration and how to assess it ?

It is probably still true, as it was when the ILO published its study "Why labour leaves the land"(1) in 1960, to say that in discussing the problem of urban drift, one of the difficulties is to assess its magnitude.

The most familiar method of estimation is based upon "inter-census" statistics. Questions regarding place of birth, previous domicile, and length of present residence, are usually asked in censuses carried out in developing countries. Information obtained in this way is obviously sufficient to estimate the flows of migration; but it has some severe limitations:

(a) it is a very expansive and time-consuming method;

(b) migration is the least static of all demographic phenomena and is subject, locally at least, to rapid fluctuations of volume ; though useful for making macro-assessments of migration, census data are thus likely to become out-of-date very quickly;

(c) finally while giving some insight on the scope of migration, it does not help much in finding precise answers to such questions as: who migrates? why? how? when? and for how long ?

More expeditious methods - field surveys - have been tried by some demographers quite successfully and deserve some attention. They are generally partial and do not give all the information desired, but they are fast, relatively cheap, and enable one to measure the size and the direction of the net flow of migration. For example, Mhlanga, Hudson and Colclough, have been able to study migration in three peri-urban areas in Botswana through using an inexpensive and simple house-hold survey; the whole study period lasted 4 weeks(2). Another illustrative example of the usefulness of the surveys method can be found in the work of a joint ILO/UNICEF mission to the Ivory Coast in 1968 ; two surveys were carried out:

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(1) ILO "Why labour leaves the land" Studies and Reports, New Series, no. 59, Geneva 1960.

(2) Republic of Botswana "A Social and Economic Survey of Three Peri-Urban Areas in Botswana, 1974", Gaborone, 1974.

they covered four zones of the country; a general survey on young people in the 15 to 29 year-old age-group was combined with a "schools" survey; the first gave data on the volume of the drift (differences according to zone, to age-group, to level of education) as well as information on the integration of young people into the urban environment; the second survey covered 77 schools and helped to test and supplement the results of the first one. The whole exercise lasted less than two months(1).

Despite their attractiveness, survey studies have two major drawbacks. Firstly, the surveys are not comparable, as different sampling techniques are used and different questions examined. Migrations take place within rural areas, from rural to peri-urban areas, from rural to urban areas, within peri-urban areas, within urban areas, and not unusually from urban to peri-urban and rural areas, as well as from peri-urban to rural areas. This raises at least one difficulty quite familiar to demographers: that of definitions of "rural", "peri-urban" and "urban" which vary from country to country and even in each country, according to sources of data and studies; secondly most studies on migration have been concerned either with the place of origin of migrants (Ivory Coast) or with the place of destination (Botswana); the former do not follow up the migrants at their destination, hence the possibilities of return migration, the details of "pull" factors are rarely known; the latter have tended to concentrate on success in obtaining urban employment and in integration into urban social organization, rather than on the conditions influencing the decision to migrate. Consequently between the two groups of studies there is a gap which is to be bridged and we would like to recommend such "two-ended" approaches for studying migration without going as far as some urban social anthropologists tend to do - who use longitudinal, multi-disciplinary and integrated methods. It would seem possible, at acceptable costs, to examine <u>motivations</u>, <u>conditions</u> and <u>options</u> in both communities of origin and of destination. Most of the arguments followed in this paper draw upon either census studies or "single-end" surveys ; yet the most pertinent ones are documented by such "two-ended" approaches. We are, of course, assuming that there are sufficient similarities among the studies to enable general conclusions to be drawn ; yet we feel that there are strong national and regional

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(1) See L. Roussel: "<u>Measuring rural-urban drift in developing countries: a suggested method</u>" International Labour Review, Vol. 101, No. 3, March 1970.

differences so that all the conclusions will have to be checked against the real context of each country before considering them as relevant.

In examining the nature of migration, we have to distinguish scale from impact.

(1) The volume of migration is certainly large and the gross net flow seems to be from rural to urban areas; a recent international study by Paul Bairoch concludes that from 1950 to 1970, the net inflow to urban areas is of the order of 100 to 120 million people; a study by the U.N. gives a striking picture of the effect of migration on the distribution of population between rural and urban areas: the percentage of rural population living in urban areas has increased by 2,3 % per annum in developing countries from 1920 to 1960, hence increasing the "rate of urbanization" from 6.7 % in 1920 to 16.7 % in 1960.(1) More scrutiny in the analysis of the figures, however, leads one to make two amendments to this observation: (i) the reality is far from being even throughout the world: the decrease in the ratio of rural to urban population over the last two decades differs significantly for individual countries. Some African countries (Ghana, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Zambia) registered a drop of 10 to 20 percentage points in the rural share of their populations, while others (Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda) showed rather insignificant changes. Some countries in Latin America and Asia (Venezuela, Peru, Chile, West Malaysia and Taiwan) underwent a drastic population shift, while others (Brazil, Guatemala, India and Pakistan) remained predominantly rural societies with more than 80 % of their population employed in rural activities;(2) (ii) a significant change in the pattern of growth of urbanization seems to be observed since 1960. According to the U.N. study mentioned above, the average annual rate or urbanization would have declined from 2.6 % in 1960 to 1.6 % in 1970; Bairoch, rejecting this estimate, has made calculations on 34 countries (representing 53 % of

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(1) P. Bairoch, op. cit., "urban areas" = more than 20,000 people residing in one settlement; "rate or urbanization" = percentage of total population living in "urban areas".
Source : U.N. "La croissance de la population mondiale urbaine et rurale" Etudes démographiques No. 44, New York.

(2) N. Carynnyk-Sinclair "Rural to Urban Migration in Developing Countries, 1950-1970: A Survey of the Literature", ILO Working Paper, Geneva 1974.

the total population of the developing world) and obtained a rate of 2.2 % which confirms in a sense the decline in the rate of urbanization (2.9 % in 1950). The trend is then undoubtedly decreasing.

(2) With regard to the impact of migration, it is worth noting that much of the rural migration remains traditional - usually seasonal, circular or marital - and affects the same demographic groups, usually young men, in villages. Most of these movements do not change much, over very long periods, in their net impact on the size, structure or income of originating or receiving communities. On a national level, there are strong arguments for believing that the capacity of migration to change such key variables as the share of people living in villages, or working in agriculture, has been somewhat overstated in the current literature. Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley and Lipton argue that "where these shares do fall the main cause does not usually lie in mass, permanent, net movements of villagers to towns. Rather it lies in the fact that a high national rate of population growth (a) pushes many communities over the definitional 'borderline' between villages and towns, from one census to the next; (b) causes some villages to expand spatially until they become contiguous and sometimes to pass over the definitional borderline that way; (c) similarly expands the areas of many towns, which 'swallow' nearby villages in the process".(1) Without endorsing totally this thesis, careful observations of the population dynamics of some major cities (Rabat, Salé, Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing, Beirut and its surroundings) would give it some credibility; studies made under the auspices of ILO also confirm this thesis inasmuch as they generally conclude that, by far the most important factor of urban inflation is the demographic inflation and its consequences, in particular on density and occupation of arable land.

However this argument should not be pushed too far: many African countries with relatively low pressure of population on the land experience a much greater rural exodus than some Asian countries with very high rural density. "The rural mobility of most Asian countries, with long histories and a large number of cities, is by far inferior to the swift drifts

(1) J. Connell, B. Dasgupta, R. Laishley, M. Lipton "Migration from rural areas: the evidence from village studies" (Mimeo).

to the myriads of cities in Latin America".(1) In effect, according to some economists - Frei and Ranis, Todaro and Bairoch - the wide gap between rural and urban incomes and remuneration is one key determinant of migration : the theoretical framework can be described in simple terms: by introducing a modern sector into a subsistence economy, where capitalistic wages are much higher than marginal productivity of the rural and traditional sectors, a large supply of rural labour is attracted; since the modern sector is usually restricted to urban areas, rural to urban migration continues till that time when marginal productivity in the traditional sector approximates the capitalistic sector;(2) according to some global estimates, the income per worker outside agriculture compared to that of a worker in agriculture (= 100) is 230 in A.R.E. and Sudan; 220 in Tunisia, 370 in Syria and 320 on average for the developing world in the 1960s. In spite of difficulties of interpretations, and of well-known weaknesses of the theoretical framework, these figures tend to support the "income differential" argument for migration; migrant interviews give "economic aspirations" as the most universal reason for migration. But other variables are mentioned as equally important: education and better quality of life (accommodation, sanitation, medical services and better educational facilities), less social restrictions, etc. Lea summarized the factors affecting the decision to migrate and the process of migration under four headings: factors associated with the area of origin; factors associated with the area of destination; intervening obstacles and personal factors:

"Both objective factors and perceptions of them are important, since information is imperfect, risk high and the tendency to assume that one will be successful in general, the decision to migrate is never completely 'rational'".(3)

Sex-selectivity. The masculinity of migration seems characteristic for most Asian countries (India, Nepal, Thailand, Pakistan) and for Kenya and Uganda in East Africa: in some Latin American countries (Columbia, Peru, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina) more female migration has occurred, with a low ratio

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(1) N. Carynnyk-Sinclair, op.cit.

(2) J. Frei and G. Ranis, "Development of the labour surplus economy", Homewood Illinois, Irwin, 1964.

(3) J. Connell et al, op.cit.

(88 men per 100 women) of all ages present in urban centres; on the other hand "family type" migration is increasing in several African countries (Ghana, Ivory Coast, Zambia), Asian countries (Indonesia, Malaysia) and Latin American countries (Brazil, Mexico).(1)

Age-selectivity. The rate of migration seems to change significantly with age. Caldwell found in Ghana that the propensity to migrate of rural people reaches 10 % for the age-group 15-19 and drops to less than 3 % for people over the age of 30.(2) Roussell(3) found a similar pattern in the Ivory Coast. In Columbia Schultz found that most migrants were aged between 18 and 27; data on Indian villages show very strong negative correlations between the proportion of out-migrants missing from a village, and the proportion of its remaining inhabitants in this age-group.(4) Thus almost everywhere, migrations concentrate extremely heavily on young people, though the 'model' age-group would vary according to country and despite most researchers explain this by the fact that migration is associated with a phase of a person's' life-cycle i.e. his first job, (though there are differences between men and women in this respect).

Education and work. "Seeking a first job" is one of the determinants of migration, though the pattern will be very different for people with different levels of education and other different conditions of employability. Apparently the educated are over-represented among migrants, partly because of better opportunities for employment in urban areas and partly because of the inappropriateness of the educational systems for people living in rural settings. Yet a study on Ghana shows, paradoxically, that the higher the educational level in the sending area, the less the tendency to migrate. In the Lebanon, Khuri found that the resource level of the village affected the pattern of education migration. In the prosperous village of Douma 50 % of those with secondary education, and 80 % with college education had emigrated, while only 19 % of those with elementary education had left. In the poor village of Aramti 73 % of those with elementary education had migrated, as well as 63 % of those with secondary education, and all those with college

(1) Source: N. Carynnyk-Sinclair, op.cit.

(2) J.C. Caldwell "African rural-urban migration: the movements to Ghana towns", New York, Columbia University 1969.

(3) R. Roussel, op.cit.

(4) Reported by J. Connell et al., op.cit.

education. The evidence implies that the selection mechanism in the migration process concentrated on the rich groups in the more prosperous village, and towards both rich and poor groups in the poor village.(1)

More detailed investigation on the socio-economic patterns of areas sending young educated migrants to cities are thus needed to explain these findings. Some have hypothesized that dynamic, risk-taking individuals are more apt to migrate, as are members of ethnic, religious or social groups which suffer discrimination. This hypothesis concurs with the idea that migrants are "marginal" persons relative to economic or cultural environment of origin; it is a doubtful idea when migrants become such a large proportion of the population of urban areas.

Given those general aspects of migration, the profil of the migrant can be roughly sketched; the migrant is normally young, often acts as a rational, economic person even if his/her expectations are not based on knowledge of actual possibilities in the urban centres, is more generally an educated person seeking more education or a job in the place of destination; might have been encouraged to migrate by the possibilities to stay with friends or relatives, which are better in certain families or tribes than in others; would clearly belong to the poorer groups of his/her place of origin.

3. What happens to migrants in urban areas?

A pertinent question follows immediately: to what extent are migrants' expectations satisfied? One trivial answer is: if they weren't, non-traditional migration would stop. However this answer does not seem to accord with the facts. A recent study (1971) by the Centre of Development of OECD shows that indeed, in almost all countries' studies (except Iran), rates of unemployment in urban areas are much higher than in rural areas; though comparisons are difficult from country to country, a general conclusion emerges: unemployment is very high in urban areas; in only one-third of the countries it is above 15 % and reaches 8 % in urban areas of 2/3 of the countries.(2) An analysis of the characteristics of urban employment shows that it tends to be higher for women than for men, much higher for the age-group 15-24 years than for

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(1) See J. Connell et al., op.cit.

(2) T. Turnham "Le Problème de l'emploi dans les pays en voie de développement: un examen des faits" (Paris, OECD, 1971).

the others, particularly high for people with six to twelve years of education (more than twice the figure for illiterates).(1) Thus it is quite likely that unemployment would be much more typical among migrants than among non-migrants. Hence, employment expectations do not seem to be satisfied. In trying to explain the apparently paradoxical phenomenon of continued migration to urban centres and of high unemployment, Michael Todero introduced two variables: the urban-rural real income differential and the probability of securing an urban job.(2) If we want to understand what happens to non-traditional migrants to urban areas (not for marital reasons, seasonal, etc.) we would have to distinguish between those who are unemployed (and/or underemployed) and those who are job-holders, and among the latter between those who are in wage-earning activities and in non wage-earning activities; then we would have to study the time lag between access to urban jobs and arrival to urban centres, and the chances of getting jobs of various income levels.

While very attractive, this framework of analysis leading to one-dimensional interpretations does not sound very consistent with the institutional, social and economic framework of most of the nations of the developing world. First of all, these countries are beset by a chronic and serious unemployment problem with the result that it is likely that upon entering the urban labour market, the migrant will become, if not totally unemployed, at best casually employed on a part-time basis. Secondly, the framework given above does not take into consideration the fact that the labour market is not a single uniform market, to which all members of the active population have access (including migrants); in fact there are several labour markets even in one urban setting, and some would argue rightly or wrongly that migrants have access only to some jobs: "executants" at best in the modern sector and some civil-service functions; and for the majority of them in the so-called informal traditional sector; these jobs are usually badly paid, unstable and characterized by relatively very bad conditions of work.

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(1) Source : P. Bairoch, op.cit.

(2) M.P. Todaro "Income Expectations, Rural-Urban Migrations and Employment in Africa" International Labour Review, Vol. 104, no.5, Nov. 1971, Geneva.

Consequently, it does not help much to compare levels of income in urban and rural areas unless comparisons are made for jobs available to migrants ; moreover the very poor conditions (salaries, conditions of work, stability, etc.) offered to migrants in urban areas are such (as can be seen in observing conditions of life in shanty towns)(1), that in all probability, they are accepted simply because either the conditions in rural areas are worse or they are considered to be the key for entry to urban life with some possibilities for upward mobility which simply does not exist in rural areas.

Coming back to activities of migrants in urban centres, let us examine the cases of wage-earning and non wage-earning jobs. Illustrations will be drawn from the survey in Botswana to which we referred earlier, and a survey in urban Tanzania carried out in 1974 on the "self-employed".(2)

The 1974 social and economic survey in three peri-urban areas in Botswana shows that :

- almost all peri-urban residents in the 3 towns studied had migrated to these areas from the rural areas of Botswana ; the great majority of household heads came to the peri-urban areas to find wage- on self-employment;
- the population of the peri-urban areas - almost exclusively migrants - is significantly better educated than the population of the country as a whole;
- on average 21 % of all adults (aged 10 years and over) are not working and not seeking work ; 15 % are in school ; 18 % are unemployed and seeking work ; 7 % are self-employed and 39 % are "working for someone else". These estimates confirm the very high unemployment rates among migrants. On the other hand, this seems to contradict the opinion that most migrants will enter the labour market as self-employed; in fact almost 85 % of all the workers of peri-urban areas of Botswana are wage-earners;

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(1) In general rural to urban migration has transferred the dichotomy between the rural and urban sectors into the outskirts and peripheries of most cities of the developing world.

(2) See: Mhlanga et al., op.cit.
M.A. Bienefeld "The self-employed of urban Tanzania", IDS Discussion Paper No. 54, May 1954.

- 12 % of wage-earning population is working in establishments or for persons within the peri-urban areas; this is a very interesting fact, in that it gives support to the opinion that migration can generate wage-earning jobs (even among migrants). On the other hand, the earnings of these wage-earners are very low; and most of them hold "unskilled jobs".
- 85 % of the wage-earning population is working in the modern part of towns, of which 12 % hold "administrative, managerial, professional and technical jobs"; the small proportion of clerical and sales workers living in peri-urban areas are almost all employed in the modern part of towns. The great majority of jobs done by peri-urban workers are, as one would expect, labouring or other unskilled activities;
- with regard to the small proportion of non wage-earners, 96 % of these workers are self-employed within their peri-urban areas, almost all of them use their own home as their place of work; manufacturing and trading activities are a more important source of livelihood than is the provision of services; what is interesting to add is that these informal activities not only provide for the 15 % of the employed population in non wage-earning activities, but also for some 10 % or so of the employed population in wage-earning activities. This means that the "informal section controlled by the self-employed, gives jobs to some 25 % of all the employed migrants to peri-urban areas in Botswana.

The survey of Tanzania's urban areas (in 1971) gives some additional insight into the self-employment sector; this sector includes all those people earning incomes from the many non-permanent and occasional activities to which an urban economy gives rise; such activities are often seen as subject to unrestricted entry and to unrestrained competition; the survey shows:

- whereas 67 % of all urban adults are migrants, and more than 77 % of wage-earners could be so classified, only 62 % of non wage-earners (NWES) are migrants. This confirms what has been found in Botswana and does not fulfill the expectation that the non-wage sector is to absorb much of the "overflow" that cannot be accommodated by the growth of employment opportunities;

- whereas 59 % of wage-earners had had more than four years of education and whereas the comparable ratio of this category to total adult population is 48 % with such education, no more than 29 % NWES had had this minimal amount of education; this indicates that the non-wage sector has not absorbed a significant overflow of school leavers; part of the explanation might lie in the fact that the educated migrants have displaced some of those with little education previously in wage employment and these have sought refuge in the non-wage sector;
- in comparison with wage-earners, a much higher proportion of "dependents" is found among NWES; this indicates that non-wage activities often serve as secondary income sources. An analysis of the age-structure of NWES shows the advanced age of this group; this confirms the role played by the NW sector in providing people of retirement age, and some secondary income-earners, with a steady source of income;
- the age patterns seem to disprove the common hypothesis that the informal sector is wide open and is therefore a major agency absorbing the pressure exerted by labour force entrants, and that these activities are used as stepping stones or as temporary refuges for those seeking entry or re-entry to the urban wage economy;
- this observation is very significant in that the survey found very large numbers of recent arrivals combined with substantial re-emigration; this process of selected re-emigration left migrants generally in a better economic position than their non-migrant counterparts, i.e. (NWE) migrants earned, on average, incomes very similar to their wage-earning counterparts, while non-migrants in these activities earned significantly less. This suggests that migrants who do not find regular wage-employment turn to non-wage activities only when these yield comparable incomes. Otherwise, they presumably prefer to return to their homes.

On the whole, the findings of the surveys on Botswana and Tanzania seem to challenge several seemingly well established opinions on the insertion of migrants in the labour force in urban areas. While it is not suggested that they refute the conclusions of other observations in other contexts,

they do make the point that excessive generalization in such matters is usually quite misleading, since the reality is almost certainly much richer and more varied. We cannot be sure for example that urban unemployment is more severe among migrants than non-migrants; that migrants compare urban with rural income (as they seem to compare non-wage with wage-income in urban areas) in their decision to remain in the cities; that their first job is in the NW sector; that, in principle, they have access to this sector because it is easier than in the modern sector; that therefore what is badly needed today for developing countries is to plan their education system with a major focus on training for jobs in the non-formal sector, etc. All this highlights the need for updating (and introducing some caveats in) the issues at stake when dealing with the problem of migration, unemployment and education.

4. The solutions and the role of education

There is no doubt that (non-traditional) rural-urban migration changes 'disguised' unemployment in rural areas into unemployment and under-employment in urban centres. This requires two comments: (i) the notion of employment and unemployment is directly related to the context and is not significant without reference to the issue to which it applies. (Theoretically, one can eliminate unemployment by equitably distributing the work available among the whole active population); (ii) any policy which aims at reducing unemployment without increasing the absolute volume of work available is misleading.

Leaving aside long-term solutions consisting in slowing down population rate of growth, altering the structure of production in favour of labour intensive activities, and expanding local productions of capital goods(1), suggestions put forward for eliminating urban unemployment belong generally to two groups:

a) encouraging a decline in the rural-urban migration;

b) introducing restrictions on migration.

The most common suggestions coming under (a) are : narrow down the income differentials between rural and urban areas and create jobs in rural areas. Existing discriminations between areas are not solely the consequences on economic factors; they also reflect the social and political dimensions of the society in which they appear; (in fact pertinent analyses of income

(1) See M. Todaro, op.cit.

distribution usually are itemized by 'groups' and not only by 'geographical areas'); this means that any policy for narrowing down income differentials will have to overcome social and political resistances, or will fail.

Attempts to ease the urban unemployment problem can also take the form of efforts to restrict the influx of rural migrants either through laws for controlling population movements or through simple 'moral exhortations' to return to the land. Limiting the flows from rural areas, can be justified only if the social costs of such a policy are shared equitably among all the 'groups' of the population and if it is accompanied by a set of policy measures of a growth strategy which seek to eliminate the dichotomization of the economy between 'rural' and 'urban', 'bad' and 'good', 'informal' and 'formal', 'centre' and 'periphery'.

If the failures of plans inspired by suggestion (a), are probably due to their lack of consistencies with the socio-political contexts in which they are to be implemented, plans inspired by suggestion (b) are often rejected on the grounds of being 'unrealistic' or in contradiction to the ideology of 'the freedom of individuals to choose their place of residence'(1). This does not challenge all solutions, and specially those in the form of 'package of policies' which both affect pattern of migration and seek to alleviate urban unemployment. It does suggest, however, that more detailed knowledge is needed which will lead to the ability to make more valid generalizations at another level of analysis which deals more directly with the rôle of various groups and sectors in the network of production and exchange.

By way of conclusion, let us discuss briefly the case of education in this respect; the rôle of education in the analysis of 'migration and unemployment' can be viewed in two different though inter-related ways:

(i) the effects of the school system itself, the content of the education process and the increased aspirations and broader horizons this can produce, are examined in order to assess the impact of education on inducing migration and generating imbalances in the labour markets of urban areas. The evidence reviewed in this paper indicates: a strong, positive relationship between formal schooling and an increased

(1) Paraphrasing Orwell, we would say, individuals are free to starve in rural areas, free to remain unemployed in urban areas, free to accept jobs which are badly paid without security, without much chance for promotion in shanty towns, etc.

propensity to migrate;(1) two partial explanations have been given: (a) educational qualifications are used as a selection device for urban employment; and the high level of income that such employment offers relative to rural income induces migration; (b) 'migrants are educated to migrate' or a reason why such migration continues to exist in spite of the high level of unemployment in urban areas, lies in the discontent with rural areas which education imparts. Using this argument, educational planners have been suggesting among other things 'to ruralize education' in order to make school children feel in greater harmony with the conditions of rural life and less attracted by the cities. It is well known that this kind of proposal is very unlikely to succeed, and even if it succeeds, it will be in contradiction with the general goal of democratization in modern societies(2), We are not suggesting, however, that education should remain primarily 'urban-orientated' and serve, in a way, as a means for recruiting workers for low paid jobs in urban areas; nor do we feel that there is no grain of truth in the argument for rural education. Rather we feel that unless a radical change is taking place which reduces disparities between rural and urban areas, which rejects the 'dualization' of the economy, etc., ruralizing education will either fail to stop the influx of migration to urban centres or succeed partially and legitimize inequality of opportunity between groups living in various areas of the country.

(ii) alternatively, we can 'work' on the other end, and categorize migrants into educated and non-educated groups, and examine how to help in solving the problem of the educated unemployed in the urban areas. Remedies are suggested on the supply and the demand sides.

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(1) A study on Ghana concludes, however, in the opposite way.

(2) For a broad discussion of this problem see C. Colclough and J. Hallak, "Some issues in rural education: equity, efficiency and employment", (IIEP Seminar paper No. 24).

On the supply side, policies of setting a ceiling for enrolment at the secondary and higher education levels have been suggested by some specialists, as a way for avoiding educated unemployment. This proves not only impractical in many countries (due to political pressures), but also it cannot be justified on equity grounds unless there is some guarantee that the spatial distribution of post-primary institutions (urban/rural) is equitable and the rates of participation at post-compulsory levels of education are equal among all socio-economic groups. In addition to quantitative control of admission, some specialists have suggested reforming educational systems, particularly 'diversifying and vocationalizing education in order to abolish the traditional dichotomy between academic and vocational education, and make the content fit in better with requirements of available jobs: two hypotheses, highly questionable, are made here.

First, those who are vocationally trained would obtain jobs with their skills; speaking of Kenya and Tanzania, King wrote: 'only a small number of multinational firms, parastatal and government concerns are interested at the moment in recruiting students with formal prevocational training'(1). Second, those who are enrolled in the vocational course would probably change their attitudes towards certain types of jobs which they otherwise would not dare to take. We are not in a position to find empirical evidence supporting or contradicting this hypothesis ; but, to play the devil's advocate, one would say that (i) the experience of some Asian countries suggests that 'there is an incipient trend among agricultural and vocational schools to extend their course to higher levels..; many graduates proceeding to the upper level courses have made us doubtful about the objectives to be achieved by the lower level courses';(2) (ii) most studies on the educational production function (using data on the U.S.) shows very limited explanatory power of the variable 'curriculum' in the determination of educational achievement. However, one should not push these arguments too far, and wait for systematic evaluation of existing experiences of 'vocationalization' before drawing definite conclusions.

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(1) K. King, 'Education, Work and Community in East Africa', in the conference on 'School and Community' by Comparative Education Society in Europe, 1975 (Mimeo).

(2) See K. Sato 'Vocationalizing Education and Attitudinal Changes in Asian Countries' 1974 (Mimeo) in 'Proceedings of the Training Course on Educated Unemployment', Islamabad 5-14 November 1974 (Mimeo).

On the demand side, special schemes have been suggested to minimize the problem of educated unemployment. According to Dodson, who has been studying the experience of Asian countries, such schemes tend to be expensive financially, and prove even more expensive socially and politically. We would very much agree with his arguments which are quoted below to conclude this paper.

"i) However praiseworthy in themselves, special schemes tend to aggravate existing social inequality. As compared with their less educated fellows, the educated generally were born into families which were above average in social opportunity and political influence. The families of the educated have wider access to employment opportunity than do the families of the uneducated, so if the educated unemployed do indeed have less employment opportunity we may be forced to conclude that education itself has reduced their job chances.

ii) Unless they lead to regular productive employment, special schemes which reduce social tension temporarily may ultimately contribute directly to its perpetuation and increase. What could be more calculated to generate even greater social and political pressure for uncontrolled expansion of the education system than to guarantee employment, or at least a stipend, to every graduate?

iii) By their "special" nature, such schemes may interfere with rather than contribute toward the assimilation of the educated unemployed into the national working force.

iv) The obviously high and sometimes ostentatious expense of some schemes may be unnecessary and of itself counter-productive, since it reinforces the exclusive feeling that the educated are an elite social class, which can be identified by its white collar uniform and should never be expected to undertake "dirty" work.

v) The best treatment of educated unemployed may be to integrate them with the general labour force and let superiority over their uneducated fellows which educational opportunity has made possible be demonstrated on the job - any job for which they can qualify."(1)

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(1) See W.T. Dodson, "Creating Employment for the Educated - A Summary of Asian Experience" in "Proceeding of the Training Course on Educated Unemployment", Islamabad, Nov. 1974 (Mimeo).